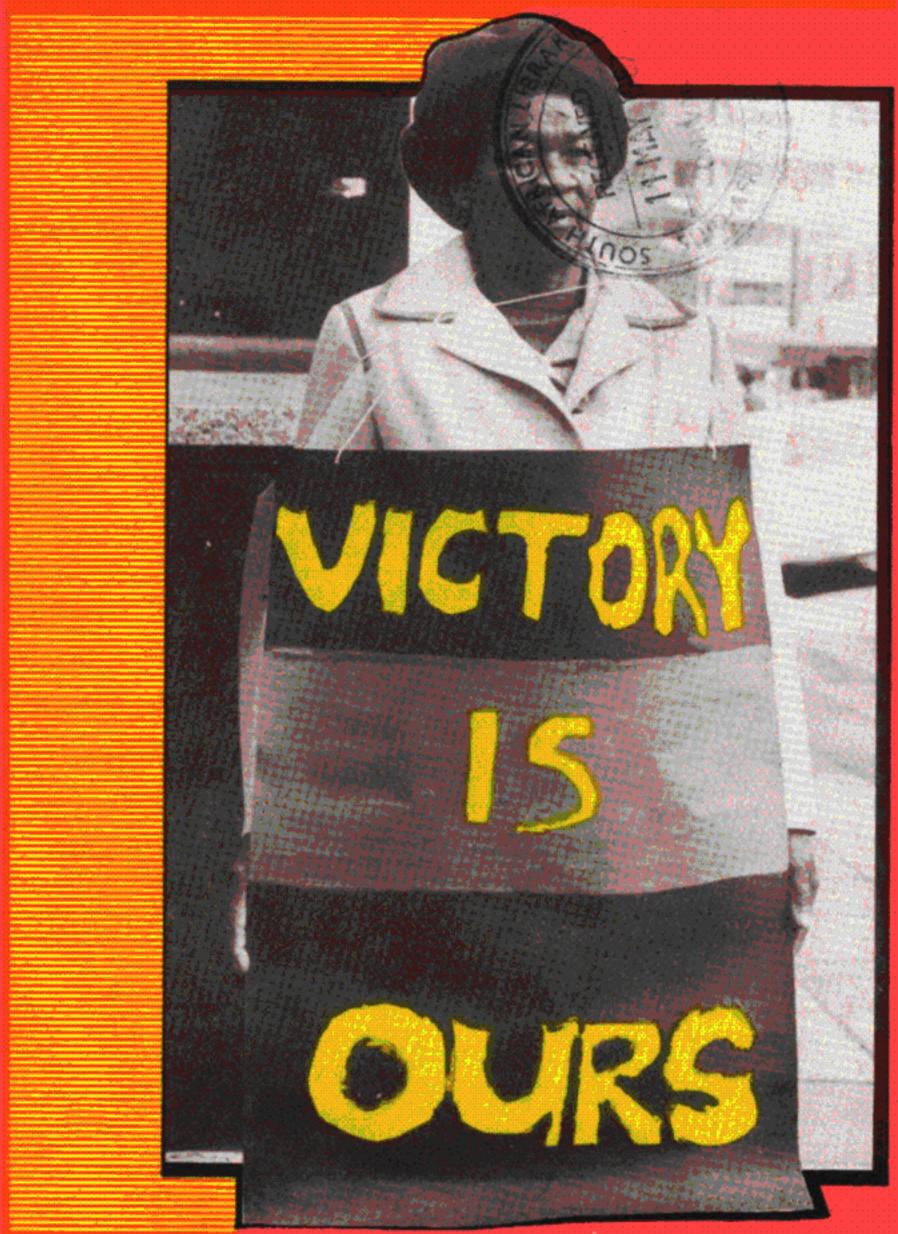


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EDITORIAL

THE PRETORIA REGIME — NO RIGHT TO RULE

This month, it is 27 years since the police of the Pretoria regime took up their guns at Sharpeville, where people were demonstrating against the passes they were forced by law to carry. 69 demonstrators were shot dead, and others were wounded. It became known that the guns had been loaded with expanding bullets, so the wounds were horrifying, and most of the dead and injured were shot in the back, showing that they had been trying to get away at the time. Pretoria tried to suppress some of this information, and the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves, who had a hand in making it public, was deported at a few hours' notice.

South Africa has never been the same since March 1960. There was a tremendous stayaway; the regime responded by banning the ANC and declaring a state of emergency, with mass arrests and a news blackout.

The ANC went underground, and, a year later, announced its intention to wage an armed struggle.

Before the regime could stop them, press pictures of the massacre had flashed round the world. International solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa began to grow. The liberation movement was establishing its external mission, and the present world-wide movement for sanctions against South Africa had its beginnings at that time. The United Nations subsequently declared March 21st, the anniversary of the massacre, as International Day for the Elimination of Racism.

The events following the Sharpeville massacre were the beginnings of the phase of struggle that has now become intense. Now, the violence of the police and army against the people continues every day, and it is not possible to keep count of the numbers of men, women and children shot in the streets. It is not possible to keep count of those opponents of the regime who are detained and imprisoned; though we know that today,

even in the prisons and detention camps, there are revolts. The daily resistance of our people in every field of struggle is courageous and determined, and at the time this is being written are 21 young people awaiting death sentences arising out of the resistance. The daring feats of Umkhonto We Sizwe grow in number each year, inspiring respect and admiration, and many of these brave cadres have given their lives.

We are no longer strangers to states of emergency, for we are now in the second in two years, with shocking repression and another news blackout the regime has imposed in yet another attempt to conceal its crimes from the outside world and even from the press of its own country.

It is plain for anyone to see that the regime has not changed its character. It has not made, nor will it make, any attempt to govern by consent. More than ever, it remains in existence only by force of arms.

The pass laws, the subject of the demonstration at Sharpeville 27 years ago, were illegal, because they were made by a regime that was itself illegal, governing against the will of the majority of the people of the country. The 21 now sentenced to hang were convicted of resisting a government they did not recognise because they had never had any say in choosing it. The Pretoria regime is still illegal.

It has no right to hang anyone, nor to try anyone, for it has no right to apply laws, and no right to make them. It has no right to levy taxes. It has no right to an army and a police force. It has no mandate from the people of South Africa to represent them in other countries. It has no right to rule. It is an armed bandit force.

The White minority regime governs by armed force. By armed strength and the determination of our people, we shall remove it entirely, and put in its place a democratically constituted government that can justly claim authority because it is based on the will of all the people.

THE FIGHT FOR PEOPLE'S HEALTH

This paper was delivered at a medical conference in Amsterdam towards the end of 1986.

By the end of 1980 there were over 20,000 doctors in South Africa, giving a doctor to patient ratio of 1:350 amongst Whites, and of 1:90,000 amongst Africans.

"Between 1951 and 1976 only 218 Africans qualified in South Africa, about 1% of the number of White doctors. In 1977 601 Whites, 65 Asians, 21 Coloureds and 6 Africans qualified from South African medical schools."

The above figures are staggering if looked at in the light of population figures in South Africa where Whites comprise less than one-third of the total population. They also give insight into the general orientation that has been adopted by the Medical Association of South Africa (MASA), a White-dominated body.

The earliest and most prominent issue available for analysis is the struggle around the National Health Service and the Gluckman Commission of 1942 which was called:

"to inquire into, report and advise upon:

- "... to enquire into, report and advise upon:
- a) The provision of an organised National medical, dental, nursing and hospital services for all sections of the people of the Union of South Africa.
- b) The administrative, legislative and financial matters which could be necessary in order to provide the Union of South Africa with such a National Health Service."²

It is amazing that when the Act of Union of 1910 was promulgated there wasn't any national health policy formulated for the country at the time. Anyway, the procedure adopted by the Commission was to collect oral evidence and accept memoranda from all concerned parties. One of these was MASA whose evidence could be said to be very relevant even for today's situation.

The main points of their evidence were as follows:

"The mere provision of 'doctoring', important and necessary though that may be, is in itself no

solution of the health problems of the country, and to begin with that would be tackling the problem from the wrong end. The demand for better or more accessible curative services must no doubt be met to the fullest degree possible, but at the same time, there must be fundamental cutting at the roots of ill-health. Prevention is the basic principle of a health service. Freedom from want and poverty will do more to build up a healthy community than any amount of curative services."

The Political Struggle and Health

This undoubtedly is a profound statement on health, coming as it did from a body of medical people. It states that health is inextricably linked to other aspects of life, like housing, wages, education, sanitation and so on, and it actually reaffirms that health is predicated upon by sociopolitical circumstances. The dichotomy of preventive versus curative is also touched upon. Unfortunately this statement was made in a vacuum by a body without an organic connéction to the processes required to achieve that "freedom from want and poverty"; nor does it state how the ideal of a "healthy community" should be brought about, as will be seen later. This is one respect in which there is a fundamental difference between bodies like MASA and others which have arisen in the last few years such as the National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA).

Even though the proposals of MASA were accepted by the Gluckman Commission, and even though it represented then, and still does today, the majority of South African doctors, MASA did not push for the implementation of its own proposals. The Commission's proposals were not implemented, for many other reasons not pertinent to this monologue.

Within the medical profession the ideology of White supremacy permeates several areas. Unequal wages between Black and White doctors caused a major struggle to erupt in the late 1960s and brought to the fore the inability of MASA to act on behalf of a few disadvantaged Black members that they had. A number of Black doctors left the public sector on account of the disparate salaries that were given to Black and White doctors.

The death in detention of the late Steve Biko in 1977 and the failure by MASA to take disciplinary action against its members (Drs Lang and Tucker who treated the deceased) for collaborating in the torture of the detained led to a public outcry against the doctors involved and MASA for its inaction. Many doctors resigned from MASA and joined NAMDA.

The formation of NAMDA heralded a new era in the history of professional organisation. Unlike those of MASA, the aims of the body were not concerned primarily with the interests of doctors but with highlighting the broader socio-political issues of health and apartheid: how apartheid breeds disease, and the need to get involved in the day-to-day health struggles of the victims of apartheid, which range from community issues and trade union work up to direct political activities.

Implications for Health Professionals

In the last three years the people of South Africa have been involving themselves in an escalating political struggle against the organs of the South African state at all levels. The apartheid government has responded as it did in 1960 with the declaration of a state of emergency. The State has used the emergency to detain thousands and to repress by brute force (shootings of civilians in townships) any resistance put up by the people. Third degree methods have been initiated to deal with opponents of apartheid.

All these things provide a background against which medical organisations have to be seen, and imply heavy medical responsibility to alleviate the suffering in various areas. The struggle for health is part of the struggle for a just and democratic South Africa. South African society is divided and diseased, and groups like NAM-DA have chosen to fight on the side of the oppressed.⁴

Detentions .

There has been widespread concern about the effects of detention on the health of detainees, death in detention and the medical care given to detainees under the system of detention without trial. MASA published a report in May 1983 on health aspects of detention which made some positive recommendations but did not condemn the system of detention without trial. Two of its most important recommendations — access of detainees to doctors of their own choice and a review system to monitor conditions of detention and the medical care of detainees — were rejected. MASA to date has not pressed for the implementation of its own proposals.

Whilst NAMDA reaffirms its unconditional opposition to detention without trial and its abuses, it has set up, in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg, panels of independent doctors willing to attend to detainees. Although detainees have not been allowed access to these doctors while in detention, these doctors have attended to detainees after their release. To this end, a standard protocol for the examination of released detainees has been drawn up and adopted.

Emergency Services

With the increase in political violence in Black townships, there has been a great need for teams of health workers to bring skills to the victims of this violence.

- Hospitals have become unsafe for people who are casualties of police bullets because they are arrested on the assumption that they were shot by police because they were perpetrating 'political crimes'. People have tended to stay away from provincial and state clinics and hospitals with an increase in morbidity and mortality. In some instances even doctors' surgeries have been raided by the police to arrest victims of police violence.
- During unrest situations whole townships have been sealed off by agents of the state, so that no people can enter or leave these areas. This has necessitated that some of the residents be trained in first aid and be able to handle emergency cases until some movement in and out becomes possible.
- During major rallies organised by peoples' organisations like the UDF and COSATU, people have been victims of police action through tear gas, baton charges and shootings. The preparations by these groups have included organising health teams to stand by so as to handle any medical problems that may result from the repressive police action.

Overall, the most reliable strategy has been to have as many health teams trained by professionals from amongst the residents themselves because they are more readily accessible and available to the townships at most times.

Workers' Health — Industrial Health

Like other aspects of community health, occupational health is grossly underdeveloped and unevenly developed in South Africa. South Africa, being the most heavily industrialised country on the African continent, has developed an active working population of some eight million workers in the field of mining, agriculture and modern industry.

At the work-place workers are exposed to a wide range of risks to their health. Two thousand industrial workers die every year from accidents and 30 000 workers suffer disabling injuries. In addition, roughly one person per day is killed in mine accidents.

It is clear that South African workers suffer high industrial mortality and morbidity rates. This is coupled by a tendency by capital to try to shift the cost of industrial injury and illness on to labour. In this situation workers have turned to their own organisations — the progressive trade unions, especially in the light of current state legislation which attempts to block worker participation and control over work-place health and safety.

Over the past three or four years a number of work-place health and safety issues have been taken up by trade unions in collaboration with groups such as the Technical Advice Group (TAG), Health Information Centre (HIC), the Industrial Health Research Unit and Health Care Trust. In Durban, the Industrial Health Unit operates in collaboration with NAMDA members. All these groups are composed in part of doctors who are NAMDA members.

Trade Unions and Health

The issues taken up by the unions on behalf of their workers with the technical assistance of these groups have usually related to problems in a particular industry or workplace. Examples of these are the 'Brown Lung Campaign' by the Na-



A 20-year-old woman who was sjambokked by the police in Lebowa being examined by a doctor on the premises of the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee. The slashes across the front of her body and arms were equally severe.

tional Union of Textile Workers over byssinosis caused by cotton dust; the assistance given by HIC to the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union to secure maternity leave agreements in the shops that it organises. HIC and TAG are at present engaged in the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) campaign for safety in the mines.

NAMDA has considered how best to promote this type of industrial health work:

- To support and assist in whatever manner possible the industrial health groups already in existence.
- To promote awareness of industrial health amongst its members in particular and doctors in general through seminars, workshops and conferences.
- To encourage NAMDA members to participate in projects campaigns organised by unions, such as Howick Screening Project for the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU).
- To raise worker health issues in our publications.
- To support the establishment of a national occupational health service to protect and care for the nation's workers in the urban and rural areas.

Health Workers

Two important strikes have taken place in two hospitals which are amongst the biggest hospitals on the African continent involving thousands of health workers. The point of raising the subject at this point is to illustrate the progressive input that can come from professional bodies in support of the cause of workers; during a strike, for example.

- During the 1984 King Edward VIII strike by the workers for higher wages, NAMDA held a number of public meetings called to rally support amongst the health professionals (doctors, nurses, pharmacists, etc) for the cause of the workers. Worker representatives were invited to address these meetings.
- NAMDA issued press statements informing the public of the true state of affairs in the hospital and of the legitimacy of the workers' grievances.
- Material support was given to the union of the workers.

During the Baragwanath strike, NAMDA undertook similar supportive activity.

Tricameral Constitution

The tricameral constitution had implications for the health of the people of South Africa

In September 1983 the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act was signed by the State President and became law. In November of the same year, an overwhelming majority of the White electorate endorsed the Act by means of a Whites-only referendum and made it into a reality. When this happened we in NAMDA examined some of the implications of the Constitution Act for the health of the people of South Africa and saw the need to take urgent action to oppose the proposals because the Constitution denies the majority of our people their political rights. Thus by being excluded from the political system they have no influence upon the decisionmaking process and thus cannot alter the negative health consequences of the homeland policy, resettlement, migrant labour system and the living and working conditions of the people.

The Act divides and fragments the health of the South African nation into so-called 'own affairs' and 'general affairs' — resulting in a total of fourteen ethnically and racially divided health authorities. This led to deterioration of the quality of services, and to possible collapse of the services.

NAMDA took a strong stand against the Constitution Act and mobilised hundreds of doctors into direct opposition through advertisements in the lay press, an important ideological challenge to the State's ideas. Through this action the national-democratic nature of the struggle against apartheid is reaffirmed and given practical expression.

International Arena

Prior to the emergence of NAMDA, the South African propaganda about the high standard of health given to its people was unchallenged. Examples used to prove the 'excellent' health standards included the heart transplant operations pioneered by Professor Barnard.

Things have changed somewhat now, and a number of victories have been scored by the progressives in this arena.

In 1984, MASA planned to host the Congress of the World Medical Association (WMA) in South Africa. This followed the undemocratic readmission of South Africa into the WMA which had precipitated the breakaway of the

African and Scandinavian groups from that defunct body. This issue was taken up inside South Africa, and NAMDA, together with other health worker organisations — the Health Workers' Association of Transvaal (HWA) for example, and medical student bodies — decided to formulate a common response through a coordinating body — the National Committee of Health Organisation (NCOHO). The purpose of this body was to oppose the holding of the WMA conference in South Africa because of the mileage that the regime would derive from that international event. MASA was at the time actively seeking to break its international isolation, brought about by its shameful conduct over the Steve Biko issue.

Due to the courageous campaigning of these bodies the WMA Congress was moved away from Cape Town.

During that campaign, NAMDA sent some of its officials to lobby overseas. It was around that sort of issue that a number of supportive groups for NAMDA were formed, mainly in North America and Canada. Examples include the Committee of Health in Southern Africa (CHISA) and the Canadian "Health Watch" based in Toronto.

NAMDA officials have been invited to attend a number of international conferences, such as the American Public Health Association Conference of 1985 in California, the Latin American Conference on Torture and Detention of April 1986, and the Maseru Conference of CAMAS in October 1986. Members of NAMDA were also present as observers at the inaugural meeting of the Latin American medical body in 1986.

Academic Boycott: Some Questions Answered

An important contact made during the anti-WMA campaign was with the African group that left the WMA in protest against the readmission of South Africa to that body. This group now congregated in the Confederation of African Medical Associations (CAMAS). These contacts were renewed and strengthened recently, when the CAMAS held its annual general meeting and workshop in Maseru in October. At the conference NAMDA members presented scientific papers and were asked to address the general assembly of that body. NAMDA's presence at the CAMAS conference illustrated that pro-

gressive organisations can be recognised by the international community without undermining the programme of other organisations to isolate South Africa. Equally important, NAMDA was accorded permanent observer status in CAMAS. There is at the moment a heavy debate raging among university academics about the academic boycott as a manifestation of the international community's abhorrence of the apartheid policies of this government. In other spheres, this indignation has taken the form of disinvestment and the sport and cultural boycotts.

The experience of NAMDA vis-a-vis the CAMAS conference is singularly instructive. It shows the way forward and begins to answer some of the questions about the implementation of the academic boycott. The fact that NAMDA was invited to attend the Conference despite the isolation of South Africa in the international forums of medicine shows that a distinction can be made between progressives and apologists of the state. Isolate the regime and its apologists, but support those engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle inside the country.

Politics and Ideology

The social and economic system of apartheid is incompatible with the attainment of good health and eradication of disease for the majority.

The result is that preventable diseases such as malnutrition, TB, cholera are rampant in the bantustans.

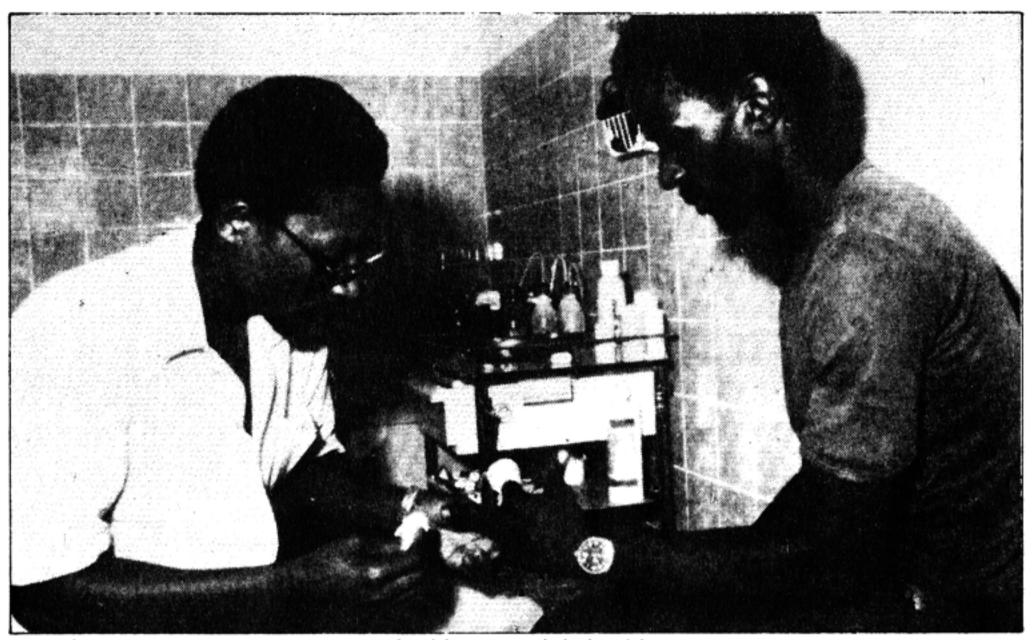
Forced removals have uprooted 3.5 million people since 1960 (10% of the population) and a further two million people are under threat, causing extreme psychological stress and physical hardship leading to a further deterioration in the health status of those removed.

South African history therefore is the history of the growth of apartheid and the destruction of the possibility of good health for the majority of South Africans. No amount of doctoring will abolish the suffering depicted above. What is of fundamental importance therefore is the complete eradication of the apartheid system.

Because apartheid breeds disease, the policies of apartheid should be opposed at all levels, even in the field of health, because they stand in the way of any attempt to improve the health profile of the majority of South Africans.⁵

MASA versus NAMDA

The Medical Association of South Africa neither



Building people's health: Treatment in the hospital at Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, Tanzania.

represents the health interests of the majority of South Africans nor does it articulate their health needs adequately. It identifies closely with the state and therefore does not vigorously take up issues which result from racial discrimination and which adversely influence health. It has not condemned the creation of non-viable homelands as a political act which has adverse effects on the health of the majority of South Africans because of the malnutrition and squalor that prevail in those areas. Neither has it publicly decried the migrant labour system and forced removals with the terrible consequences that these have produced for the health and welfare of families.

Through NAMDA progressive doctors have a forum to enable them to develop a broad perspective in the specific conditions prevailing in Southern Africa, whilst at the same time being able to work for democratic change in the health structure, services and education in South Africa, by tackling issues which effect the majority of the people — cholera, occupational health, opposition to the fragmentation of health, emergency services, detentions, and so on.

By providing a public account of the causes of ill-health NAMDA fulfils an educational role, not only internally but also externally, by presenting to the outside world a true image of the prevailing health conditions in this country.

MASA sees the solution to South Africa's health problem in increased privatisation of health services despite increasing levels of unemployment and markedly depressed standards of living of the majority of South Africans. Available data indicates that medical aids cater for 17% of the population of South Africa. NAMDA, on the other hand, together with other progressive bodies in health, is looking closely at the idea of a National Health Service as one of the urgent necessities to follow the scrapping of apartheid.

The Nursing Sector

Despite the deficiencies in health personnel that exist in all the other sectors of health amongst the African population (doctors, physiotherapists, pharmacists and so on) African nurses form the biggest single group of health workers. Figures given are in the range of 135,000. At the same time the class and racial exploitation is most evident within this group.

The nursing sector is crucial to the health service of this country for a number of other reasons besides their dominant position in terms of numbers. They form a bottom layer in a hierarchical organisation that places matrons, doctors, and administrators on top of them with the result that they work under the most difficult conditions. An aura of 'professionalism' is thrown around them to make them accept their lot with equanimity and docility. For example trainee nurses and some registered nurses are accommodated in dormitories with strict discipline about accepting male visitors into their rooms; rigid codes about dress exist; maternity leave is not allowed; there are very depressed levels of wages, long working hours and bad working conditions, often with overcrowded wards and extreme shortages. Despite all this, nurses are not allowed to hold meetings or express their grievances other than through the matrons who are responsible for most of their suffering.

The only body that nurses are officially allowed to belong to is the South African Nursing Association (SANA) which rules the nursing profession with an iron fist and is closely allied with the state and is White-dominated despite the fact that Black nurses form the majority.

In the 1960s the nurses were organised by the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) into trade unions and some of the benefits that nurses may enjoy today were actually hardwon after major struggles including boycott and strike tactics, such as the King George V strike in 1961).

What is worrying today is that very little work is actually done to neutralise the ideological domination by the state within this big and important sector. In the Transvaal the Health Workers' Association is involved in attempts to organise nurses at Baragwanath. What is needed is a much wider and more intense effort country-wide in this regard.

What Kind of Organisation?

This then raises conceptual and ideological questions. What organisations would best serve the interests of nurses in this country? — a trade union or 'professional' body or a 'general health worker' type of body where all the sectors can belong — doctors, pharmacists, clerks, nurses and so on? These are hard questions that need answers, and which also reflect our lack of familiarity with the field in question.

Experiences from elsewhere (North America and the UK) would suggest that the pro-

letarianisation of nurses is a fact of life (regimentation, rigid division of labour, intense supervision, cheap labour, bad working conditions) whilst hospitals and health authorities seek to inculcate loyalty by a variety of methods including screening of applicants, in-service training and professional ideology. Historically, the nursing profession was stripped of its historic independence from wage labour and came to be employed in overwhelming numbers in hospitals and other institutions. In the words of one author:

"Nursing history has been characterised not by

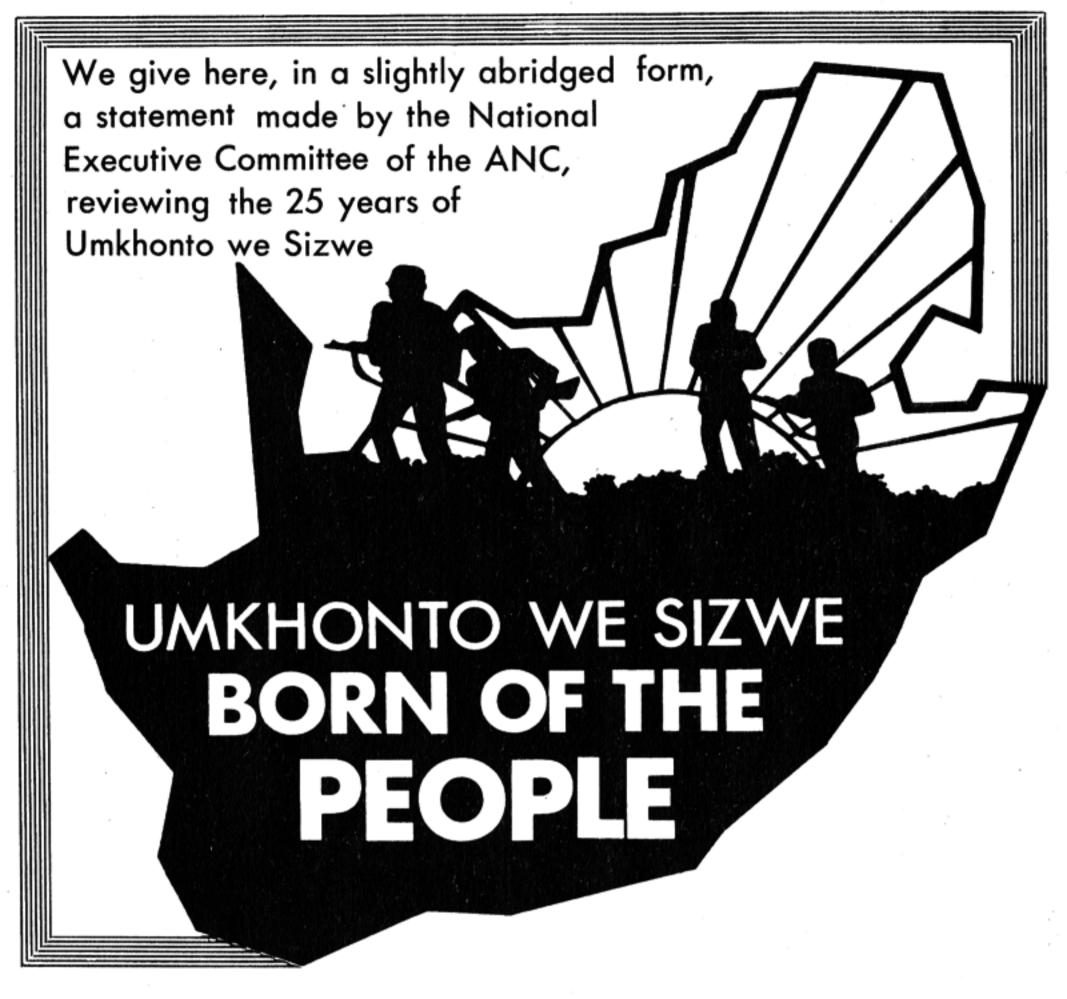
"Nursing history has been characterised not by a rise in professional autonomy, responsibility and prestige — as it is sometimes portrayed by professional leaders — but by a diminution of independence, increasing stratification and division of labour, and growing revolt against assembly-line conditions."

In South Africa, in addition to the class question, may be added the question of national oppression which operates to distort even further the concept of the 'nursing profession' and actually lays down objectively the basis for mobilising within health for popular democratic change.

There is a substantial body of paramedics (physiotherapists, radiographers, social workers) that is also unorganised. The points made in respect of nurses probably apply, even though to a lesser degree. Perhaps one union could cater for all paramedics including nurses as well.⁷

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This day 25 years ago bomb blasts in several main centres rocked South Africa. Thus was born Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army of our country.

By that time the demands of our people were loud, persistent and clear: all our efforts, the whole record of relentless struggle under the leadership of the African National Congress, were being met with ever-increasing violence and repression by the racist state. The time had arrived when we needed to reinforce our mass political action with the hammer blows of an armed struggle.

The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe was a response to these needs and the demands of our people. December 16, 1961 accordingly marked an historic turning point in our long march to freedom. With the formation of Umkhonto we

Sizwe our people were now better equipped to grasp history into their own hands.

Born of the people, combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe pledged themselves in our Manifesto to complement the actions of our national liberation movement by means of organised revolutionary violence.

From those small beginnings Umkhonto we Sizwe has emerged today as the guarantor of our people's future and the indispensable fighting arm of our people.

Combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, you are the flower of successive generations of our youth tempered in the crucible of battle. On behalf of the African National Congress and its allies I salute you on this, the 25th anniversary of the birth of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Commitment to Freedom

We had sought, by every non-violent means at our disposal, to realise the liberation of our people. The decade of the Fifties demonstrated the overwhelming commitment of the masses of our oppressed peoples to freedom. Under the leadership of the Congress Alliance, headed by the African National Congress, all classes and strata, as well as the diverse population groups of our country, steadfastly pursued this objective. Our people mobilised as never before to challenge White minority rule. But true to the traditions of colonialist rule and the ideology of race superiority, the rulers of our country paid no heed to the demands of our people. They drowned our efforts in blood and brutality. The Sharpeville massacre of March 1960 epitomised this reality.

Our People's Answer

The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe was our people's answer to this historic challenge from the racist rulers of South Africa. In our Manifesto we declared that "the time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight," and that South Africa's rulers had left us with no alternative but to "hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom." We knew then that we were "striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people;" that once we took that road there would be no going back; a road that was going to necessitate total dedication, self-sacrifice and a determination that knew no surrender; a road along which the commitment not to submit but to fight would have to be transformed into the uncompromising warrior pledge — Victory or Death!

Not since the Bambatha Uprising in 1906 had patriots taken to arms in an organised form. The people's reaction to state violence had continued down the years. With the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe we were gathering together in an organised form all the best fighting traditions of our past in order to stride into the future along the path of the seizure of power by the majority of the people.

We knew then that anger alone would not bring victory. We knew then that our people had been deliberately deprived of the skills of modern warfare and denied access to weaponry. We knew then that our terrain presented its own special problems which could not be answered from the

classical textbooks of guerrilla warfare. We knew then that, despite the sweep of the African revolution, we would have to develop the armed struggle without the advantage of rear bases in the neighbouring states. We knew then that we faced a formidable foe underpinned by imperialism.

How were we to move forward? Above all else, we knew too that our strength lay in the masses; we knew that Umkhonto we Sizwe, born of the people, had to be rooted in the masses and strive with the people. Those early combatants took to battle. With home-made bombs and explosives taken from the enemy we blazed a glorious trail.

And what a glorious trail it has been!

Those early exploits struck fear into the hearts of the enemy. Not since the battle of Isandhlwana in 1879 had our rulers been so shaken by our fighting formations. They could not understand what moved giants like Mini, Mkhaba and Khayingo to go singing defiantly to the gallows rather than trade their lives for the life of a fellow combatant by giving evidence for the state. The Minis, like many before them and many more since, emblazoned with their lives into the emblem of Umkhonto we Sizwe the uncompromising motto: Victory or Death! Let us, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of MK, salute these heroes for their commitment to the justness of our cause, and for imprinting on the history of our struggle a standard that we must live up to.

The Struggle Goes On

Even in those early days by what cruel twists history sought to underscore both our mistakes and the immense difficulties that our revolution faced. Within less than a year our first commander, Comrade Nelson Mandela, was captured by the enemy. Within two years of our birth the cream of our leadership was captured at Rivonia farm, brought to trial with Comrade Mandela, and sentenced to life imprisonment where they remain to this day. In his statement to the court Comrade Mandela, confronted with the prospect of the gallows, defended the justness of our cause and defiantly proclaimed that for these actions "I am prepared to die." By the end of 1964, with the imprisonment of Wilton Mkwayi and others, it appeared as if the guns of MK had been silenced for all time.

Even the courage of our masses appeared to

have cowed before the tyrant's might.

But the founders of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the leaders of our national liberation movement had already taken steps which would ensure that our people would soldier on to victory. In the face of such a massive setback the only cohesive, organised force of our revolution that remained at the time was the comrades who had been sent



Umkhonto we Sizwe — the people's army of the townships.

out of the country to train in politics and the art of modern warfare. We had left our homes imbued with the dream that we would surge back into South Africa to lock immediately into battle with our fascist rulers.

Within the country, in the prisons, and in remote military camps in distant countries of our mother continent, we set out on the long journey of regrouping ourselves, replenishing our courage and resolve and fighting back inch by inch.

Torch-bearers of our Revolution

Looking back over those 25 years, let us today accord proper place and recognition to that generation of MK we know as *umgwenya*, who became the core for our regrouping and the torchbearers of our revolution. With superhuman dedication to the cause of our people, they held aloft our dream and lived with only one purpose in mind — to get back into our country and to pursue the revolution.

We traversed many countries on foot and by other means. Every failure to reach home became a spur to further efforts and greater daring. We sought to go by land, by sea and by air. We even had comrades traverse our country to reach Lesotho. Our *umgwenya* never gave up hope and never spared their efforts. In that phase of our history we lost many comrades, among them Comrade Flag Boshielo, member of the NEC of the African National Congress and commissar in Umkhonto we Sizwe. In Portuguese-ruled Mozambique we joined forces with our brothersin-arms, Frelimo, to probe our way into our country.

But the true epic of that period belongs to the effort we made in 1967 when, as a combined force of ANC and ZAPU fighters, we crossed the Zambezi into the then Rhodesia in order to hack a path home and for our brothers to entrench themselves in their mother country. That daring effort is known as the Wankie Campaign in which our combatants fought gloriously against the combined racist South African and Smith forces. How the enemy forces were rendered panic-stricken by the relentless courage of our combined forces who, on the banks of the Zambezi, before they marched into the hostile territory of Rhodesia, were named, in memory of our great leader, the late President-General of the African

National Congress, Chief Albert Lutuli, and who are known since then and for all posterity as the Lutuli Detachment.

Our Lutuli Detachment

In battle after battle the racist forces were overwhelmed by the courage and firepower of our gallant fighters. Many members of that indomitable detachment fell in battle. Their names are inscribed on the roll of honour of our revolution. On this day, every year, we pay special tribute to those illustrious combatants who fell on the sacred fields of Zimbabwe with the warrior cry, "Victory or Death!" on their lips: immortal fighters such as Peter Mhlongo, Delmas Sibanyoni, James Masimini and Basil February, who, in several battles, refused to retreat, fought the enemy to the last bullet: heroes such as Patrick Molaoa, President of the African National Congress Youth League, Michael Poo, Andries Motsepe, Jack Simelane and Gandi Hlekane, all of whom gave their lives in the noble cause of our revolution.

In the unfolding of our revolution it became the sacred duty of Umkhonto we Sizwe to revive the spirit of revolt amongst our people. How Wankie revived the spirits of our people inside our country, restored courage in the face of repression and revitalised the revolution!

That role of Umkhonto we Sizwe has been emulated over and over again. Let us, on this occasion, salute the Lutuli Detachment whose members lie buried in many countries, whose members languish in prison and whose members even today serve in our front ranks. If the revolution survived those dark days, it survived to a significant extent because of our Lutuli Detachment.

At the same time our comrades who were incarcerated in the fascist prisons turned prison into a battleground. Cut off from the masses, they waged campaign after campaign and their invincible spirit flowed out of the prisons to inspire our people.

Activists who had been cut off by wave after wave of repression and activists re-emerging from the fascist prisons joined forces with a new generation of freedom fighters and set about organising the masses. The wave of strikes waged by our workers in 1973 became the precur-



Umkhonto we Sizwe is the solution.

sor of the Soweto explosion of 1976 that shook our country. From then on our revolution caught alight with renewed intensity.

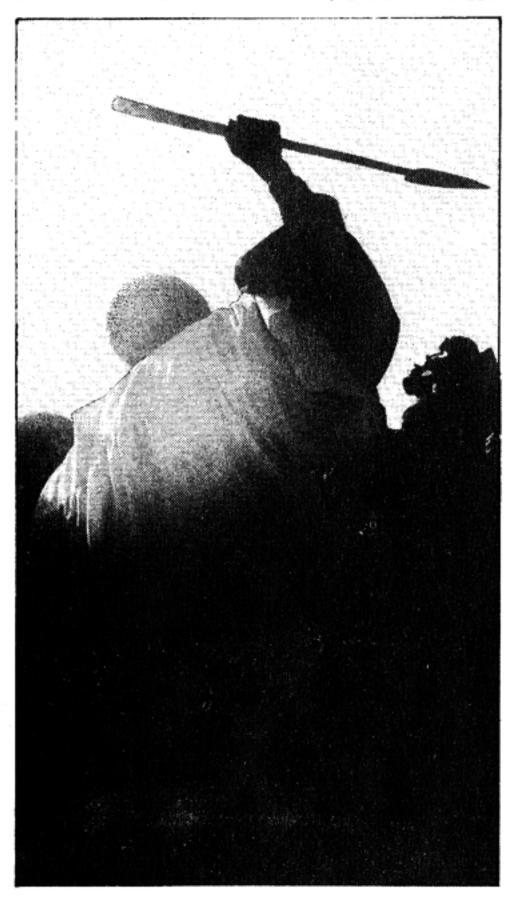
The June 16th Detachment

The imperative of the armed struggle as the key component of our revolutionary way forward was burned into the minds of our Soweto generation by the savage massacres perpetrated by the racist soldiers and police. The brutal gunning down of 13-year-old Hector Petersen turned the protesting youth of 1976 into the warriors who flowed into the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, giving fresh impetus to our armed activities. Almost overnight the Soweto generation finally enabled us to breach the barriers by which the enemy had sought to separate us from the masses. The enemy now unwittingly threw into the ranks of the revolution an army of youth whose anger and courage knew no bounds. Within the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe and under the tutelage of the *umgwenya* they proudly absorbed the heritage of struggle in our national liberation movement and were awarded the title of the June 16th Detachment. They were to be rapidly joined by the Moncada Detachment, who have been followed by detachment after detachment swelling the ranks of our revolutionary People's Army.

And what glorious pages they are writing!

In the decade since the Soweto Uprising Umkhonto we Sizwe has become entrenched inside our country. Combat operations have dramatically increased in number, in daring, audacity and sophistication. Our combatants, by our operations, have wrenched away the mask of invincibility that the enemy sought to wear. Inspiration and hope and the certainty of victory today surge through the veins of the masses of our people.

The catalogue of achievements is studded with the brilliant attacks on Sasol, the military headA priest leading mourners at the funeral of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli, Cradock 1985.



quarters at Voortrekkerhoogte, the nuclear power station at Koeberg, the bomb blast outside the headquarters in Pretoria of the racist South African Air Force, the attacks on enemy communications, and the limpet and land mine attacks inside the borders and deep within the country. Umkhonto we Sizwe combatants merging with the combat groups that are springing up all over the townships have made grenade attacks an everyday event. Even John Vorster Square, the headquarters of the hated security police, has reverberated from the explosion of the limpet mine. At last enemy soldiers and police walk fearfully in our townships.

We have a long road ahead and many obstacles to overcome, but we can justly say that there is no target that is impervious to our combatants, there is no area of our country beyond our reach and that the oppressor and his army will be conquered.

The Tradition of Courage

In this decade of mass revolt the traditions of the Minis have been re-lived by the Solomon Mahlangus, the Jerry Mosololis, the Marcus Motaungs and the Simon Mogoeranes, who have proudly faced Pretoria's hangmen, living up to our pledge: "Victory or Death!" On this day we solemnly recall those warriors who fell at Matola, Maseru and elsewhere, such as Motso Mogabudi, Mduduzi Guma, Krish Rabilal, Zwelakhe Nyanda, Nomkhosi Mini (daughter of Vuyisile), David Skosana, Titus Jobo and Harold Dantile (Morris). The spirit of the Patrick Molaoas and Basil Februarys who fell in Rhodesia has been relived by combatants who have fought it out to the last bullet or handgrenade, comrades such as the Silverton heroes, Thami Makhuba, Wilfred Madela and Fani Mafoko, Linda Jobane — the Lion of Chiawelo Khuduga Molokwane, the Dobsonville schoolteacher, and Clifford Brown.

We recall and salute Richard Molokoane (Barney), one of our most outstanding field commanders, who died with Victor Khayiyane and Vincent Sekete during a daring bid to attack Sasol once again with rockets, Linda Khuzwayo, who fell in Ingwavuma, Livingstone Gaza, Vincent Tshabalala, Lukas Njongwe, Eldridge Yakiti, Jerry Nene, Clement Molapo and Samule Segola, and many more courageous combatants who were prepared to welcome death in order that our people should be victorious. Their deeds shall inspire our army and our people for all time, and their spears have been picked up by others.

These events have an added dimension of significance. Between the Rivonia arrests and the Soweto Uprising, the question as to how to advance revolutionary warfare without safe rear bases in the neighbouring states appeared to elude practical answers. The renewed actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe on a sustained basis and the continuous upsurge of the masses provided the answer to this question and showed that our bases would, of necessity, have to be located among our people. Our theory and practice of revolutionary warfare came to be properly understood in terms of People's War.

The Four Pillars of our Struggle

We have had to elaborate on concrete programmes that would enable the masses to be transformed into political revolutionary bases. It has also meant that we have had to develop a deep and thoroughgoing understanding of the interrelationships between the four pillars of our struggle, which we have characterised as the building of the underground network of our movement, the mass action of our people, the expansion of Umkhonto we Sizwe inside South Africa, and the further mobilisation of the international community, aimed at the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

MK has played and continues to play a crucial role in the development of our masses into political revolutionary bases. Without the all-round active participation of the masses we cannot develop People's War in the fullest sense.

The revolt of the masses of our people has become a tidal wave which no amount of repression and violence is capable of containing. The State of Emergency — martial law in reality — has become a permanent instrument for the racists' uncertain survival. The masses have made our country ungovernable for the regime and rendered apartheid unworkable.

How far, then, are we from truly realising People's War? In our daily lives our people have abundantly demonstrated that apartheid has become intolerable. At the level of united mass action our people are surging ahead. Every organised formation of our people — our workers, our women, our rural people, our youth and students, the township residents, religious congregations and leaders, our teachers and those in various professions, our progressive Whites — are beginning to act in concert.

This is the true significance of our call to the people: Every patriot a combatant — every combatant a patriot!

Foundations of People's Power

We are witnessing today the masses steadily taking to arms; we are in the midst of death-defying deeds where combat groups, supported by the people, are erecting barricades, stringing barbed wire across roads, digging defence trenches, driving enemy forces into death traps, raining petrol bombs against armoured vehicles, arming themselves by dispossessing the enemy of his weapons, ridding our townships of informers and collaborators, eliminating enemy personnel.

The full majesty of these actions lies in the determination of our people to lock in battle with the enemy forces and annihilate them physically.

MK units are today being welcomed and their leadership and guidance sought by our people. Side by side with this development, township after township is building the foundations of People's Power which are transforming them into fortresses of the revolution.

Through centuries of White domination our people have learnt how to die for a future. To-day, even our eight-year-old children in the townships defiantly pit their strength against the might of the racist soldiers and police. The cream of our youth have begun to mobilise themselves into mass combat groups determined to ensure that the regime will never again restore its control over the lives and destiny of our people. The enemy forces are being compelled to recognise that the only cause that they have to defend is the survival of a dying order.

Make People's War a Reality

We who know how to die for the future can understand the majesty of our young lions who have taken to war and, side by side with Umkhonto we Sizwe, moved our masses to make People's War a reality. As a tribute to these heroic young lions, who are daily losing their lives, it is appropriate that we in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army, should, on this 25th anniversary of our foundation, pledge ourselves that they shall not die in vain.

At this moment, as we reach into the high tide of our revolution, let us remind ourselves that we face a vicious and inhuman foe. Our enemy is now committed irrevocably to a course aimed at destroying the mass resistance of our people to the extent of perpetrating genocide. It has marshalled all its power to destroy Umkhonto we Sizwe, the African National Congress and its allies, within and outside our country. It has firmly set its course on marauding the independent states of Southern Africa in pursuit of reducing them to abject client states.

We cannot let this day pass without paying homage to that great son of Africa, our comradein-arms, the late President Samora Machel of

Continued on page 18

MARCH 21st — UN DAY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACISM

People of the world show solidarity with the people of South Africa.



Members of the Commonwealth Secretariat present the Third World Prize to Nelson and Winnie Mandela in Soweto, May 1986.



The people of Britain demand sanctions against South Africa.



Trade unionists unite: (left to right) Norman Willis, General Secretary of the British Trade
Union Congress and Arthur Scargill, President of the British National Union of Miners with
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Demonstration in Zimbabwe after the death of Samora Machel.

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Continued from page 15

Mozambique, cruelly murdered by the Pretoria regime. His life and his death symbolise the close unity in struggle of our peoples. MK combatants trained together with him and other Frelimo comrades; for years we shared the same military camps; at times we even shared the same trenches on Mozambican soil before its liberation. And he lost his life on South African soil at the hands of our common enemy. We pledge to bring his murderers to account!

In tribute to the independent states of Southern Africa and other states on our continent which have enabled us to become the force that we are, and at this moment when the racist army with the support of imperialism is threatening their independence and sovereignty, we make this pledge: We have always shared the common and noble ideal of freeing our continent of colonialism and racism. As we in Umkhonto we Sizwe tenaciously pursue the enemy in his den, wherever we find you, our friends and brothers, threatened, we shall unhesitatingly stand shoulder to shoulder with you in defence of your independence against this common enemy. We salute the independent states of Southern Africa fighting to preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity!

We pledge our unity in battle with the heroic fighting people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO and its armed wing, PLAN!

Enemy Manoeuvres

We need to be ever-vigilant against every manoeuvre, not only to annihilate our movement but to deflect our people from the realisation of our goals.

They seek to entice us by demanding of the African National Congress that we 'renounce violence,' that we abandon the alliance with the South African Communist Party, and that we sever our relations with the socialist countries, in particular with the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Cuba.

What do these demands amount to? What is the fundamental lesson that comes out of 25 years of existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe?

Our people have only been taken seriously, whether in Pretoria, London, Washington or Bonn, because of our armed activity. Combatants of MK, without you, our people and the leader

of our revolution, the African National Congress, would be a voice without force. Our history has taught us that people's power cannot come through a change of heart from the rulers.

Unity of Our Forces

Those who ask us to desert our allies ask us to forget the enduring bonds that we have developed together in the trenches. The South African Communist Party in particular is inextricably woven into the fabric of our struggle and by its commitment and actions earned itself the honourable place of being a worthy and indispensable component of the national liberation movement. As for the socialist countries, let it be said unequivocally that they have proved, by word and deed, that they are true friends of our people's cause; that without them and other friends Umkhonto and our national liberation movement, headed by the African National Congress, would not have become the force that we are today.

On this historic occasion let us pledge ourselves once more to the unity of our struggle, commit ourselves again to defend the Alliance and always uphold the fraternal bonds that unite us with the democratic and peaceloving forces throughout the world.

Let us repeat that we shall never allow Umkhonto we Sizwe to be emasculated! Our leaders in prison have repeatedly been offered their release if only they would renounce so-called violence. All the violence in our situation emanates from the racist regime. It is the racists who have to renounce violence, not us.

When we resorted to the armed struggle we said in our Manifesto that this choice is not ours, it has been forced on us by the violence of the apartheid state. Until our people have won their freedom there can be no turning back.

It was not by accident that we launched MK on December 16th. White South Africa observes that day as the triumph of its military might over our people. The violence that they celebrate is the violence of a minority aimed at subjugating the majority of the people of our country. It is a celebration of injustice and the inhumanity of man against man. We chose that day to show how different we were. We celebrate December 16, our Heroes' Day, to underline our commitment that we are waging a just war in pursuit of freedom, democracy and peace.



The racist regime is today trapped in irreversible crisis and our road to victory is open. The history of Umkhonto we Sizwe proves that there is no obstacle we cannot overcome.

In the course of this long march we have scored great achievements. We have also made many mistakes, but we are where we are today because we have always had the capacity to learn from our mistakes as well as from our achievements; to learn from our people as they learn from us.

We are born of the people. As long as we remain part of the people and move ahead with the people, victory is certain. Conditions have now matured in our country for us, together with our people, to mount an all-round offensive in order to advance to People's Power.

It is within this context that I now present you, our glorious People's Army, with your Battle Orders of the day:

I order:

- Train, arm and lead our people into battle;
- Defend our people in town and countryside;
- Sever the enemy's lines of communication and power;
- Disperse and immobilise the enemy forces;
- Destroy the enemy's economic resources;
- Attack the enemy on all fronts and annihilate his forces;
- Make People's War flourish in all its dimensions in every part of our country.

Victory or Death, we shall win!
Forward to People's Power!
Long Live the Alliance of our People!
Long Live Umkhonto we Sizwe!
Long Live the African National Congress!
Amandla Ngawethu! Maatla ke a Rona!
All Power to the People!
Mayihlome ke Nako!

SUPPORT THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WITH SANCTIONS!

Speech by Sally Mugabe



A Conference in Solidarity with the Women of Southern Africa was held in London on January 1st and February 2nd, 1987. It was organised by the Women's International Democratic Federation and the National Assembly of Women. To mark the occasion of March 8th, International Women's Day, we give here a shortened version of the speech made to the Conference by Comrade S F Mugabe, Deputy Secretary of Zanu (PF) Women's Section.

Allow me on behalf of the women of Zimbabwe to extend to you our sincere gratitude for the invitation extended to us to participate in this meeting. I would also like to congratulate you and all who were responsible for successfully organising this solidarity conference for the women of Southern Africa.

This conference is timely. Southern Africa's peace is seriously threatened by the apartheid regime.

The tension in the region has been heightened by the tragic and untimely loss of President Samora Machel of Mozambique, a revolutionary and gallant son of Africa, whose death in a mysterious plane crash last year deprived us of a man totally committed to the liberation of the continent and the removal of the apartheid system. His death has strengthened our resolve and determination to intensify our struggle against the abhorrent system.

In South Africa, the situation is rapidly worsening. The last two years have seen the regime increasing its acts of terror and brutality against its opponents, particularly the Black majority. The regime, through desperation, has adopted some draconian measures which licence the arbitrary detention of innocent civilians, many of whom are women, and recently the regime has introduced measures aimed at the complete censorship of the press.

Our Sisters Not Daunted

We saw for ourselves not so long ago on our television screens the indiscriminate shooting of school children and innocent citizens by the racist army and police. The killings and detentions have had a telling effect, especially on women and children. Families have broken up, schooling for children has been disrupted. Employment for both adults and youth is not available, resulting in unprecedented hardship for families and communities.

Even then, the spirits of our sisters in South Africa are not daunted. If anything, this has enhanced their resolve to face the regime's guns until victory is won. The women, youth and children of South Africa are now at the forefront of their struggle. We must support them in their just struggle for the total removal of this inhuman and criminal system of apartheid.

The imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the international community would be a signal to the South African regime that the rest of the world can no longer stand idly by while the situation in South Africa worsens.

Namibia Held Hostage

The racist regime continues to hold Namibia hostage. There is little reason today for us to believe that the regime is ready now to see the people of Namibia exercise self-determination. The South African regime must withdraw from Namibia in accordance with the United Nations resolution 435 of 1978. We can no longer tolerate the regime's arrogance in ignoring international opinion on this matter.

Last year, the Second Brussels International Conference on Namibia sensitized international opinion on issues concerning the illegal occupation of that country. We fully support the programme from that conference for the immediate independence of Namibia. In particular, we support the call urging all states to stop support for the South African regime.

We urge the continued support for SWAPO in more concrete and practical terms.

I will now turn to the situation of the Front Line States.

By sponsoring the so called MNR bandits in

Photographed outside the conference: from left to right, Comrade Thembe Nobadula of the ANC; Comrade Eleanor Khanyile of the ANC, Elizabeth Tebbs, Chair of the National Assembly of Women; Comrade Mitta Seperepere, ANC representative to the Women's International Democratic Federation; and Beverley Baines of the Congress of Canadian Women.



Mozambique, UNITA in Angola and other political malcontents in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana, South Africa seeks to deny its neighbours the possibility of peaceful reconstruction, thus relegating them to a position of permanent economic and political dependency.

This grim state of affairs was recently highlighted by a study undertaken for UNICEF which concluded that an estimated 8,500,000 peasants have been dislocated from their homes and 4,500,000 persons are in danger of starvation as a result of South Africa's aggression in the region. The study also points out that over 140,000 children under 5 years have died in Angola and Mozambique alone as a result of direct South African destablisation. In the other countries of the region, the cost of destabilisation in terms of war damages, loss to tourism, extra-defence expenditure, runs into billions of dollars.

Apartheid Threatens the Entire Region

At the level of the family, the effects of bandit activities are devastating. The destruction of the infrastructure in rural areas has meant that normal economic and social life cannot go on. The lack of basic maternal and child health services has resulted in high morbidity and mortality for both mothers and children. There is a marked increase in promiscuity among youth. Girls are becoming mothers before they are women, and boys fathers before they are men.

The destruction of schools and other training institutions has further compounded the problem, resulting in very low literacy rates among both women and children. In addition, governments in the region are obliged to provide food, shelter and health services to a large influx of refugees from conflict areas.

Apartheid is not, as others would have us believe, merely a domestic political issue of concern only to South Africa. It is, on the contrary, a dangerous phenomenon that threatens and menaces the security, stability and orderly development of the social and economic life of the entire region:

Accordingly, we believe that opposition to apartheid is an international duty. This is why we support unreservedly the national liberation movements in South Africa, and the people of Namibia in their just struggle against occupation and colonialism.

As we all know, orderly development is only possible in a peaceful, secure and stable atmosphere.

We of Southern Africa believe that the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the international community, now more urgent than before, is necessary if we are to rid ourselves of this inhuman system of apartheid. We believe that the complete eradication of this immoral system can lead to long-lasting peace and stability in the region.

Sanctions Now!

We therefore disagree with the view that sanctions against South Africa by the international community are not in our interests, because the short-term costs of sanctions are totally outweighed by the long-term cost of continued South African destabilisation of the region.

Comrade Chairperson, I will conclude by expressing the hope that after serious deliberations this conference will come up with practical suggestions that will assist the people of Southern Africa in translating their dreams into reality and their plans into action programmes. The women of Southern Africa are, as I have said before, extremely appreciative of the continued expression of solidarity with them in their struggle against apartheid and colonialism.

We hope you will continue and increase your support for the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia both morally and materially.

In the Front Line States, support is required in various ways to assist the countries to reduce their dependence on South Africa; in Mozambique and Angola the need to support its people to consolidate their independence and achieve self-reliance is more urgent, especially in the face of the MNR and UNITA bandits' senseless activity. It is also necessary to assist families and communities to deal with the crippling effects of the war.

To our sisters and brothers who are directly involved in the liberation struggle in both South Africa and Namibia, I urge you to intensify the struggle with greater vigour. The struggle may be bitter today, but victory, which is certain, will be sweeter tomorrow.

A Luta Continua! Victory is Certain!

IDA JIMMY: UNDAUNTED FIGHTER

On International Women's Day March 8th, the ANC salutes women comrades struggling for democracy in other lands.

We salute comrade Ida Jimmy, a courageous Namibian fighter who received the All Black American Alliance Medal at the Conference in Solidarity with the Women of South Africa.

Ida was seven months pregnant when she was arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment for inciting or encouraging people to harbour or aid SWAPO freedom fighters. Her son was born in prison and when he died Ida was refused permission to attend his funeral.

Comrade Pendukeni Ilvula Kaulinge, secretary of the SWAPO Women's Council and member of the Central Committee of SWAPO, who had received the medal on Ida's behalf, presented it to her at the Conference.

Ida Jimmy accepted the award on behalf of all the struggling fighting Namibian women and PLAN. She expressed her appreciation to all those who had campaigned for her release and concluded: "I might have been released from prison, but that is not the freedom I fought for and I will continue to fight until Namibia is free."



Comrade Ida Jimmy on her release from prison.

SHELL FUELS APARTHEID

The call from the peoples of Namibia and South Africa for comprehensive mandatory sanctions includes the demand that transnational corporations remove themselves forthwith from South Africa and Namibia.

SWAPO of Namibia and the African National Congress welcome and support the international campaign to persuade Royal Dutch Shell to break all economic and other links with apartheid.

ANC Statement, September 10th 1986 In the coming year, the international campaign against the continued presence of Shell in South Africa will be intensified.

Solidarity movements, trade unions and churches, in more than a dozen industrialised countries in Europe, the United States and Canada, are involved. Individual consumers are boycotting Shell fuel. Representations are being made to governments and local authorities to cancel contracts for Shell products, including heating oil for institutions, and to sell investments in Shell. In the United States alone, universities, churches and other institutions have disposed of investments in Shell, worth more than \$60 million. As petrol stations are being picketed, some owners have switched brands, while the Swedish Shell Pump Owners' Association, representing 600 petrol stations, has called on Shell to leave South Africa. Anti-apartheid groups in Italy have come together to campaign against the import of South African coal that Shell is supplying to ENEL, the state-owned electricity utility.

Across the Ocean: Voices of Protest

At the Shell annual meeting in May, voices from across the Atlantic, including the United Mineworkers of America and the New York City Teachers Retirement System, will join with European churches, trade unions and others, calling on the company to withdraw from South Africa. In Britain, 15 local authorities, including one with a Conservative majority, are urging Shell to withdraw or face large-scale disinvestment. These authorities have more than \$46 million invested in Shell. During this year, oil-producing states and members of the Non-Aligned Movement are expected to add their voice and muscle to the compaign to persuade

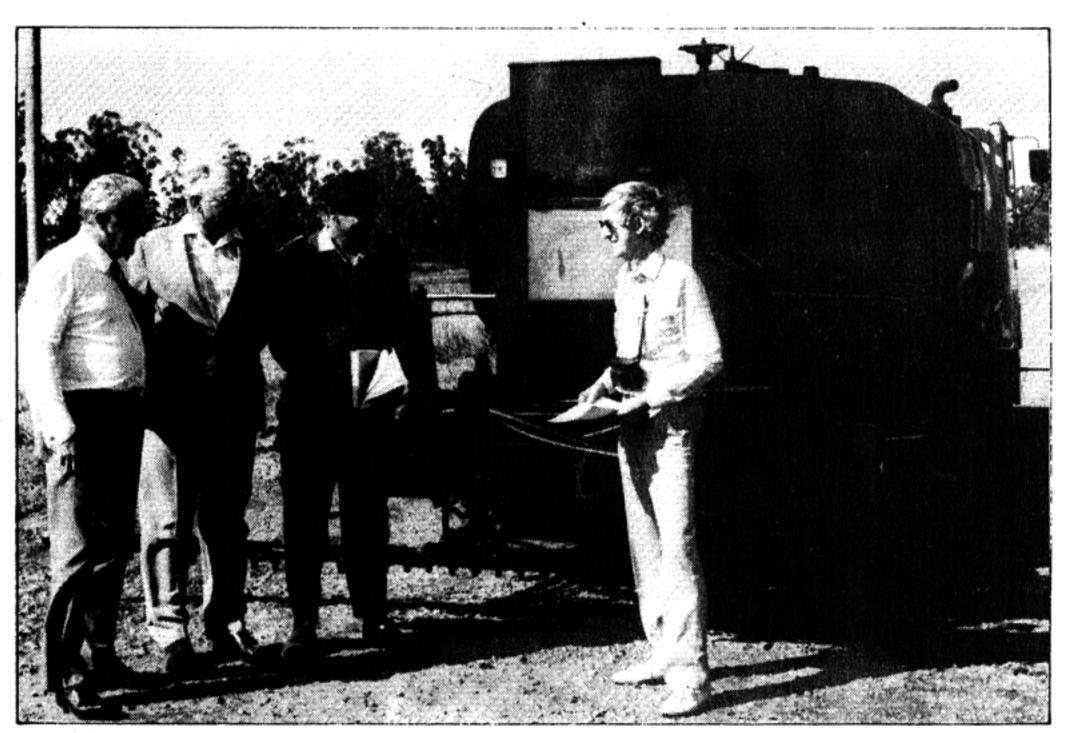
Shell to break its economic and other links with apartheid.

Shell's local and international management have continued to issue ritual statements expressing opposition to apartheid, while carefully and deliberately avoiding any reference to the complicity of Shell in the maintenance of the oppressive system, nor the degree to which it subsidises the SADF, nor its direct involvement in the repression of the people of South Africa, and the continued illegal occupation of Namibia.

Almost all Shell installations in South Africa and Namibia have been declared "national key points." Under South African legislation, these are incorporated into Pretoria's regional defence system and the owners are required to finance and make available storage facilities for arms and SADF equipment, as well as an industrial militia or "security guards" trained in "counterinsurgency and riot control." Shell processes crude oil supplied in defiance of embargoes of oil-producing countries, and sells products to the racist military and police forces.

This is what remaining in South Africa and obeying Pretoria's laws entails. But Shell voluntarily goes much further in assisting the regime than the law requires of it.

- Shell pays the salaries of White employees while they are serving in the SADF, besieging or occupying the Black townships and brutalising and shooting residents.
- Shell's Black employees are vetted by Pretoria's security machinery, and Shell officials receive intelligence briefings and serve on official committees which ensure that the manpower needs of the regime are met.
- Shell openly advertises its collaboration with the SADF in opposition to the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. One of Shell's promotional brochures features a Major Kleingeld from SADF Headquarters in Pretoria, with a Brigadier Roos, watching a demonstration to farmers of a Shell product, Sandfix, which can be used to detect land mines. "... it (Sandfix) could be a great help," says Major Kleingeld.



Mr Garth Green, Shell's Bitumen Engineer explains the application of Sandfix to (from left to right) Brigadier Paul Roos, farmer Billy Lyons and Major Kleingeld of South African Defence Headquarters.

Opening session of the Maritime Union Against Apartheid Conference in London in 1985. (Left to right) Major General Joseph Garba of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, Moller Hansen of the Danish Seamen's Union, Neil Kinnock, Leader of the British Labour Party and President OR Tambo.



- Shell continues to expand its investment in support of apartheid. Between 1981 and 1985, capital employed in South Africa and Namibia grew at a rate of more than 20% per annum, rising from R430 million to over R1 billion. In 1985, capital expenditure doubled, with new investments in the refinery and in the coal and metals divisions. In London, the chairman of Shell has called for greater international investment in the apartheid economy.
- Shell has invested R65 million in a new lead and zinc mine in Pering, using technology from the Netherlands. Shell proudly proclaimed the strategic significance of its support for the beleaguered regime in its Business Report, which says: "In terms of the national economy, Pering mine fills a serious gap in the market. As a result of its development, imports of these essential base metals (lead and zinc) will no longer be necessary." The mine was opened in September 1986, just as the US Congress was finishing its sanctions package.
- More than 80% of all oil imported into South Africa in defiance of the United Nations General Assembly embargo enters the country through the off-shore facility at Durban, which is coowned and operated by Shell.
- Shell transfers technology to apartheid South

Africa, and its executive chairman in South Africa has drawn attention to the crucial importance of technology transfer in the context of disinvestment. Multinationals could not be replaced by merely "buying out their assets," he said. "Their contribution is not only capital but the most modern technology, business systems and world class management and management philosophies." He is prepared.

In 1984, Shell South Africa registered 86 patents on processes researched and developed in Shell laboratories in Europe. Included were coal-gas-oil conversion processes, which would be useful in developing the Mossel Bay and Kudu fields.* By registering these patents in the name of Shell South Africa, the directors in London, the Hague and South Africa have ensured that whatever sanctions the international community may impose, or whatever shareholders may decide about Shell's involvement in apartheid, vital technology will be available to meet the fuel and other needs of the regime.

The managing director of Shell's senior group, Lo van Wachem, recently addressed a letter to the company's senior executives, in which he claimed that: "our employees, shareholders and customers, deeply concerned about apartheid, are affronted by the attacks. Because of the misrepresentations and deliberately false nature of many of the accusations, I want to make the Shell position clear ..." Though the rhetoric extended over four pages, van Wachem's attempt at clarity once again stopped short of dealing with the issues listed above.

Shell and Sanctions-Busting

All too often, the parent companies of Shell South Africa try and hide behind Pretoria's secrecy legislation. But the facts are known, have been repeatedly raised by both SWAPO and the ANC, and by the solidarity movements. What is more,

they have never been denied.

Shell has considerable experience in sanctions-busting in Zimbabwe, and has placed its expertise at the disposal of the regime and its agents. In November 1986, it was reported that oil worth US\$705 million from Brunei had gone 'missing' and had ended up in South Africa. Shell maintained it had complied with Brunei's embargo on the supply of oil to South Africa, and claimed that no Shell company outside South Africa was involved. However, the fact remains that the oil did reach South Africa, and, moreover, was offloaded at the Shell facility in Durban. At the end of two months, Shell Brunei had not begun legal proceedings against the company to whom it had sold the oil, nor had it blacklisted the in-

termediaries involved. Such resolute and punitive action by a major company such as Shell or an oil-producing country such as Brunei could not but have had a deterrent effect.

Genuine commitment to enforcing an oil embargo was demonstrated some years ago, when, at considerable cost to itself, Kuwait cancelled the contracts and blacklisted the company that had initially purchased the oil delivered to South Africa on the *Salem*.

Clearly, Shell is either unwilling to enforce an oil embargo against racist South Africa or incapable of doing so, a fact which other oil-producing states will have to take into account in future.

Last August, the chairman of Shell South Africa, John Wilson, admitted that: "Shell's position is not comfortable. The threat of disinvestment is real ... if the bottom line of Royal Dutch Shell is adversely affected internationally, the shareholders will have to reconsider their position in South Africa, but it will have to get really bad before shareholders decide to pull out."

The goal posts have been set for the international campaign, and the challenge will be met.

* Kudu is in Namibian waters and any exploitation would be a violation of United Nations Decree No 1.



Shell provides service for farmers who link into the racist military system.

THE US ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT: PROGRESS AND PERSPECTIVES

🗏 By Monica Moorehead 🔙

The writer of this article is a national coordinator of the United States Out of Southern Africa Network of the All-People's Congress/Peoples Anti-War Mobilisation in the United States.

More than anything else, the revolutionary struggle conducted by the super-oppressed, superexploited South African masses against the racist apartheid regime has had a profound impact upon the political consciousness of millions of people in the United States. There is hardly any place that a person could travel to within these borders, east or west, north or south, where the very mention of apartheid does not solicit instant condemnation and repugnance. The apartheid regime has been transformed into a social pariah worldwide. Even the Reagan administration, a staunch ally of the hated regime, has had to distance itself publicly to a certain degree from Pretoria. The forced pull-outs by General Motors, IBM, Kodak and other multinationals from South Africa, as well as the diluted sanctions till recently passed by Congress, has helped to damage further the credibility of apartheid, and deepen the isolation of the regime internationally.

Despite the implementation of more repressive press restrictions by the Botha government in 1986, the memories of the rebellious South African youth resisting with sticks and stones the brutal military occupation of the Black townships, the funeral processions transformed into militant political rallies and the defiant, inspiring words of Winnie Mandela under banishment, are forever etched into the consciousness of poor and working people in the United States. For many, these scenes of heinous repression have propelled them into mass organised action.

South African Struggle an Inspiration

The development of the anti-apartheid movement here was inspired by the revolutionary struggle inside South Africa. The mass campaign initiated by the United Democratic Front (UDF) to expose and defeat the tricameral ploy, followed by rebellions in Black townships, strikes by Black gold miners, and so on, helped to lay the foundation for the Free South Africa Movement. This movement officially began in November 1984, when Black public officials started to target the South African Embassy in Washington DC with a strategy of purposely getting arrested by blocking the embassy entrance.

This tactic spread like wildfire around the country, and soon every South African embassy or consulate was being picketed daily even during the harshest times of winter. Over 2 000 labour leaders, public officials, civil rights activists, religious figures, political activists, entertainers like Stevie Wonder, as well as everyday citizens of all nationalities, were being arrested. The great majority of the charges were dropped; the authorities did not want to risk having their courtrooms transformed into chambers of political debate on apartheid. These arrests were generally viewed as a form of protest against the Reaganites' racist 'constructive engagement' policy towards South Africa.

Labour-Student Solidarity

This movement sparked some very important displays of international solidarity with the struggle against apartheid, specifically among labour as well as students, which is noteworthy. Last year in San Francisco members of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehouse Union (ILWU) refused to unload South African cargo from the Dutch ship, Nedlloyd Kimberly. Despite the injunction of a temporary restraining order imposed by the federal courts, ordering the workers back to work, the dock workers continued to hold mili-

tant lines and for almost two weeks the ship remained untouched. Despite the blackout by the big business media, telegrams and letters of support for these heroic dock workers came in from all over the country and the Bay area itself, including from Black Congressman Ronald Dellums, the Oakland and Berkeley city councils and union representatives, as well as political and community activists like the All-People's Congress.

The District Council 65 of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in New York City and New Jersey have rallied workers against apartheid. On June 16th 1986, to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the heroic Soweto student uprising, DC 65 and others organised over 50 000 workers from various union locals throughout the region, from the United Nations to Central Park. We are looking forward to more exemplary acts of labour solidarity in the near future.

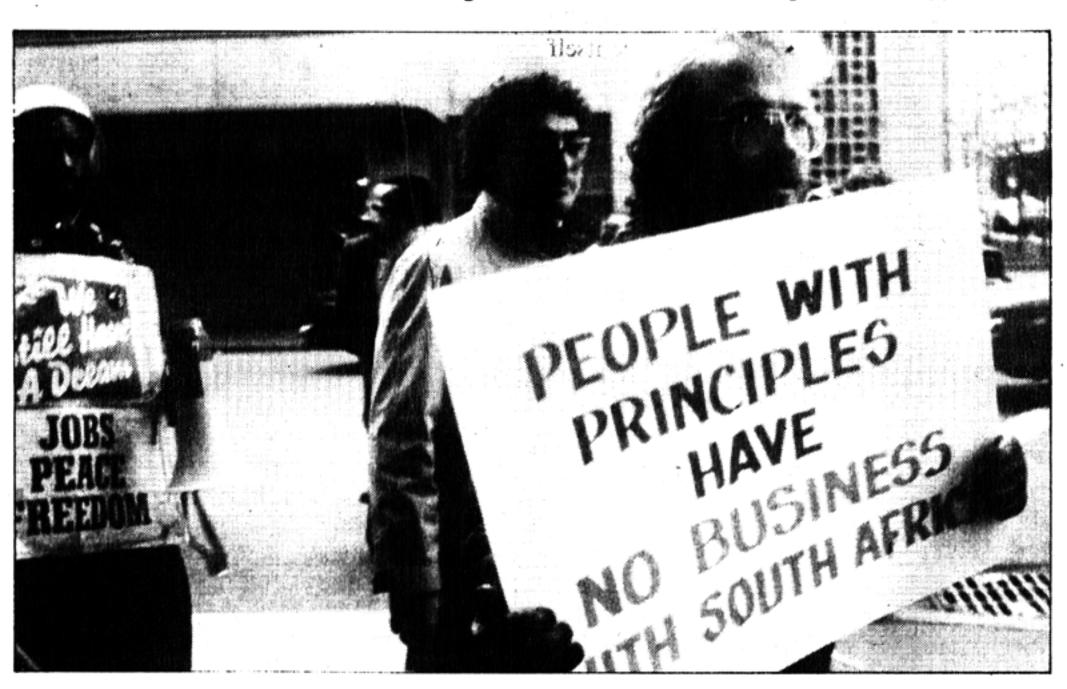
Student Protest Explodes

The events leading up to the barbaric massacre of over 40 unarmed protestors in the Black township of Langa near Uitenhage on March 21st 1985 were deeply felt in the United States, especially among the students and youth. Reminiscent of the anti-war sentiment during the

Vietnam war era, anti-apartheid protests spread from the largest colleges like Harvard, Yale and Berkeley to the smallest Black campuses like Spelman and Grambling.

The launching of this student protest began on April 4th, the 17th anniversary of the assassination of Dr Martin Luther King, Jr., when students at Columbia University in New York began a militant sit-in and blockade at Hamilton Hall, demanding that the Board of Trustees stop doing business with apartheid by pulling out \$30 million worth of investments. These students, Black, Latin, Asian and White, during the course of their struggle, re-named the occupied building Nelson Mandela Building and held rallies daily to sustain and build support for their struggle from the Black community of Harlem, as well as to seek national and international recognition.

Since that time, many college administrations have been forced to divest all or a portion of funds from the South African economy. Because of mass pressure, divestment bills on a local and stateside level have been passed throughout the country. However, fighting for divestment alone, though progressive, is limited in raising the basic components of apartheid in the context of the economic, social and political struggle.



People's action in the United States.



Solidarity with ANC is Crucial

The struggle against apartheid cannot be raised in an isolated manner, but has to be viewed as part and parcel of the overall struggle against the world-wide imperialist system of super-profits based on exploitation, oppression and unbridled militarism. The South African masses are not spilling their blood in order to reform the present system but to destroy, tooth and nail, all vestiges of apartheid, replacing it with a humane system that will be run for the benefit of all its citizens. The South African people are carrying out a heroic struggle for national liberation and self-determination through armed and massive resistance.

This struggle for liberation is being led by the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and its programme of rendering the apartheid regime ungovernable. It is not enough to be against apartheid; we must also support the people's war for national liberation.

In the light of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the ANC that was observed on January 8th, there will be nothing more important for the anti-apartheid solidarity movement to do, here and around the world, than to show uncompromising, strong support for the ANC in anticipation of the Reaganites and other leaders of imperialist governments mounting an all-out vicious campaign to discredit and isolate the ANC, its allies and its programme for a non-racial, democratic South Africa, known as the Freedom Charter. The sanctions bill includes an important clause calling for a CIA investigation into the activities of the ANC, laying the basis for a red-baiting attack against the ANC and the struggle they are leading. All attacks must be answered with demonstrations, rallies, forums and fund-raising projects in support of the ANC.

US Role Should Be Exposed

It must never be forgotten that the United States Government will stoop to any level, even breaking its own laws or international laws, to protect its own interests; the present 'Contragate' scandal proves this to be true. The Independent, a British newspaper, recently revealed that 60 tons of weapons were secretly sent to South Africa by the United States. These weapons are not only going to arm the apartheid police and army within the country, but will be used by the South African Defence Force against SWAPO of Namibia, fighting against the illegal apartheid occupation of their country, as well as by the contras in Angola and Mozambique backed by the United States and Pretoria.

The criminal role of the United States must continuously be exposed and linked to its crimes at home against the masses here in the United States — racism, homelessness, hunger, plant closures and layoffs, sexism, attacks against the disabled. Linking these issues to the heroic struggles in South Africa, Namibia, the Middle East, Central America, the Caribbean and Asia will strengthen the movement into one of an independent, anti-imperialist character.

This coming year will bring about very significant developments in the revolutionary struggle against apartheid. The international community will play a welcome role in helping our South African brothers and sisters come one step closer to their long overdue liberation — a victory that will be a giant step forward for all humanity. Amandla!

US Out of Southern Africa! Victory to the ANC and SWAPO!

'Abandon constructive engagement' THE ANC TELLS THE US

During a two-week visit to the United States in January-February 1987, a high-ranking ANC delegation led by President Tambo met with a wide range of US political leaders including those who had spearheaded US sanctions against the Pretoria regime, and solidarity movements, representatives of the Black community, trade unions, churches and businessmen.

The delegation was advised of various plans to mobilise support in the US for the liberation struggle in South Africa and for action to extend the current sanctions legislation and increase support for the Front Line States.

In the course of a serious and substantive meeting with U.S. Secretary of State George Schulz, the ANC put its view of both the process of change in South Africa and the most effective contribution that the international community and the US in particular could make towards the liberation of the South African people.

The ANC told the Secretary of State that the policy of "constructive engagement" had not helped the people of South Africa. The ANC wanted to see strict observance of the present US government sanctions, and their extension to comprehensive sanctions. The US Government was asked to extend substantial assistance to the independent countries in Southern Africa directly and through the Southern African Development Corporation. Increased action on the question of Namibia was necessary in order to compel the Botha regime to accept and implement UN Security Council Resolution 435.

The situation required the US administration radically to depart from "constructive engagement" and be seen in various ways to be acting on the side of forces working for genuine change in South Africa.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrade,

This year the ANC, the vanguard of our liberation struggle, championing the democratic cause of the fighting masses, is 75 years old. 1987 has also been designated a "Year of Advance to People's Power", by our movement. This demands of every congress member, every democratic-minded South African — African, Indian, so-called Coloured as well as White — to prepare politically, psychologically, militarily and otherwise for the bloodiest battles still lying ahead of us. The main basis of such preparedness is in the political field.

How was it possible for the ANC not only to survive enemy subversion, but also to grow stronger for so many years? The answer to this question is in part political maturity of its leader-ship, political education imparted to all members of our movement, and conscious discipline bred by such political education. So that political education reigns in the rank and file of our movement, the ANC prescribes criticism and self-criticism as a reliable and time-tested method of educating one another formally and informally.

The political content of criticism includes objective and unbiased analysis of the actions of a fellow revolutionary, with the aim of determining whether such actions have advantages to our revolution. If such actions undoubtedly advance the cause of our struggle they should be emulated and encouraged. On the other hand if such actions have disadvantages for our revolution, they should be corrected and discouraged. In case of self-criticism such an objective and unbiased analysis is conducted by one of one's own actions.

Criticism as a method of building one another has nothing to do with fault-finding, nor has it anything to do with pointing an accusing finger at a comrade. It is conducted in a way of discussion, where the criticised is explained the wrongness of his or her actions, the circumstances leading to such an action, as well as the possible ultimate damage the continuing of such action can cause. In the end the criticised is given advice as to how best to correct the

mistake, as well as ways and means of avoiding the recurrence of such a mistake.

The discussion of a comrade's mistake should always be conducted in a comradely atmosphere, where, even if misunderstandings arise, they remain comradely and cordial. Such a discussion has to differ from one where each party aims at defeating the other, in which case a hostile atmosphere prevails, and enmity underlies the relations of the parties engaged.

The main aim of a discussion where a hostile atmosphere prevails is usually to defeat one's ideological enemy. Half-truths and formal possibilities are employed in such a discussion, even prejudiced arguments. Criticism where such an atmosphere prevails risks the danger of destroying rather than building a comrade. The prescription of the criticism and self-criticism within our movement is based on the natural fact that it is not he who does not make mistakes that is intelligent. There are no such people, neither shall there ever be. He whose mistakes are not very grave, and are quick and easy to correct, is intelligent. Given this background therefore, fault-finding and pointing an accusing finger are foreign to criticism and self-criticism as prescribed by the ANC to its membership.

The ANC as an organisation is a living organism, and its members each constitute an organ. So the development of its members, individually and collectively, is the development of the whole organisation, and the opposite is detrimental to the movement. Any seriousminded organ or member of our organisation, ready and willing to develop and grow, should take serious criticism and self-criticism as a method of educating one another. This is the surest and the only way of politically correcting one another's mistakes and thereby raising one another's political understanding, as well as political exactness at work. In short this method cultivates and heightens political consciousness.

Yours in the struggle, Mahofisi

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10.05-10.35 p.m. Wednesday

10.30-11.00 p.m. Friday

7.00 0.00 p.m. Triday

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STOP APARTHEID EXECUTIONS

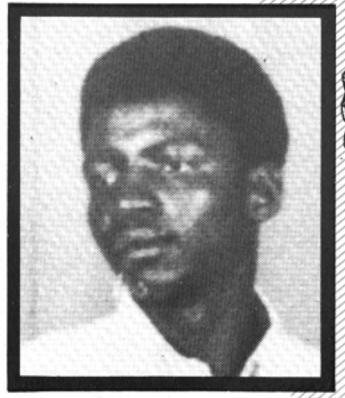
FIGHT TO SAVE THE LIVES OF SOUTH AFRICAN PATRIOTS



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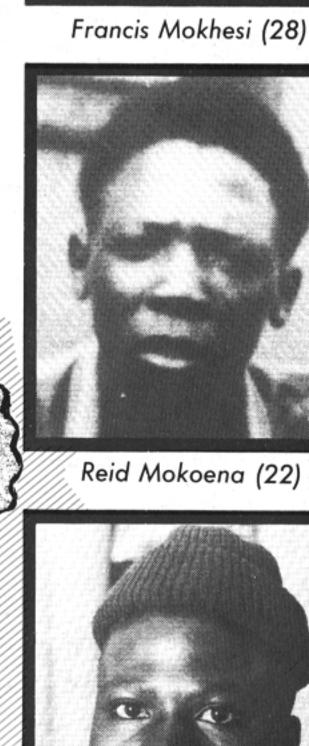


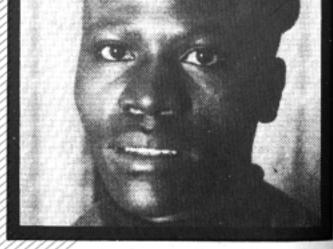
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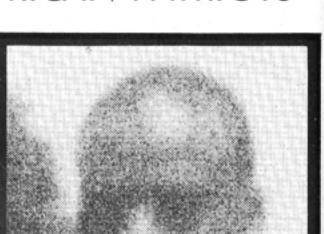
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